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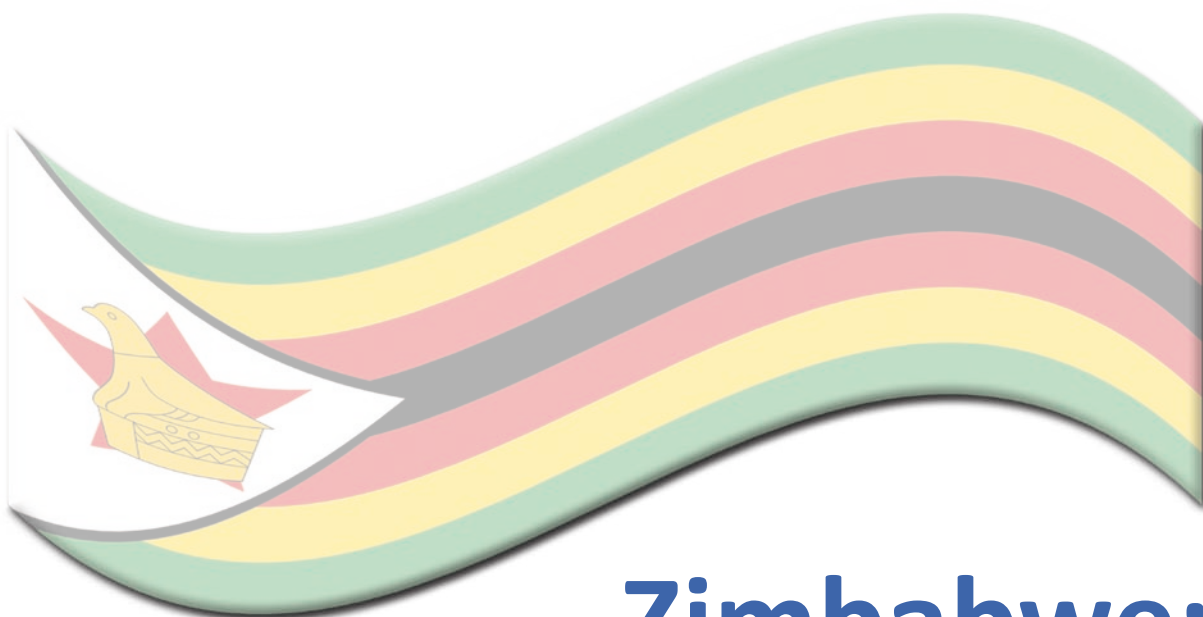
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Zimbabwe: Women's Voices



Report of the European Parliamentary Hearing, Brussels, 6 October 2010

IMPRESSUM

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Table of Contents

I. Parliamentary Hearing

1. Introduction	5
2. Discussion	7
3. Speaking Notes and Presentation	
Speaking Notes: Kati Leinonen	9
Speaking Notes: Sabine de Bethune	11
Presentation: by Betty Makoni	13
4. Biographies	15
5. List of Participants	21
6. Program	22

II. PAPER

Thirty years after political independence — Creating political space for Zimbabwean women, <i>by Grace Kwinjeh</i>	23
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III. ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: Global Political Agreement (GAP) — Extract	32
ANNEX 2: UN Security Council Resolution 1325	34
ANNEX 3: EU Guidelines on Violence against Women and Girls and Combating all Forms of Discrimination against them	38
ANNEX 4: Outcome of the EU/NATO High-level Event on Women, Peace and Security	57
ANNEX 5: Mary Robinson — The women of Zimbabwe making history	61
ANNEX 6: Zimbabwe — Women MPs Call for Active Role in Drafting Constitution	63

Part I: Parliamentary Hearing

1. Introduction

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) unanimously passed Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, underlining the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security. A decade has passed since then and commemorations are taking place globally to mark the occasion. During this decade, UNSCR 1325 has succeeded in bringing to the fore the important role of women in conflict resolution and as agents of change; it has recognised that women are central in ensuring peace and security in their countries.

For a distressed country like Zimbabwe, discussions around UNSCR 1325 and women's involvement in the transitional process have offered a framework through which they can actively engage on issues that matter most to them – issues to do with national peace and security, as well as justice and healing. The Zimbabwe women's agenda has been revalidated through a clearly defined fresh discourse by the women themselves in government structures, political parties and broader civil society, and in collaboration with their international allies.

A major obstacle to women's participation in national politics, especially in the transitional process, is the prevailing patriarchal order, which has marginalised women as second-class citizens, thus, perpetuating gender inequality in Zimbabwe. Women have indeed played a major role in the fight for democracy and good governance in Zimbabwe, but are still not fully included in the country's national governance, as this remains a male prerogative. Having endured grave violence and brutality, Zimbabwean women still have to fight for space in national politics and for recognition of their universally accepted human rights.

The establishment of the Government of National Unity, under the Global Political Agreement (GPA), signed in September 2008, was a cornerstone in Zimbabwe's transitional process. The GPA was signed by the three main political parties – the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC and MDC-T).

The institutions relevant to UNSCR 1325 that have been pivotal in the re-engagement of women in the GPA process are the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration under the President's office. These institutions have been key in creating a diplomatic arena for Zimbabwean women to up the stakes in demanding their holistic involvement in the transitional process.

As stated in Article 7 of the GPA on 'Equality, National Healing, Cohesion and Unity', the new government:

...shall give consideration to the setting up of a mechanism to properly advise on what measures might be necessary and practicable to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre and post independence political conflicts ... and will strive to create an environment of tolerance and respect among Zimbabweans and that all citizens are treated with dignity and decency irrespective of age, gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin or political affiliation. (Article 7, GPA)

While the GPA has been lauded for giving fresh impetus towards a peaceful transition, it has been equally criticised for failing to promote democratic accountability on issues such as ending the culture of impunity for perpetrators of violence, the equitable sharing of power among political partners and, above all, women's participation and empowerment.



From left to right: Mirjam van Reisen, Sekai Holland, Judith Sargentini and Sabine de Bethune

The transitional process under the GPA is proving to be a rocky and difficult one, with developments over the past days marking either the start of a prolonged political conflict or presenting an opportunity for a quick resolution. Women have suffered most from the political violence in Zimbabwe; they have been raped, tortured and displaced. Their ordeal during times of intensified political violence both in urban and rural communities is well documented.

All these issues have been addressed by Zimbabwean Journalist Grace Kwinjeh who launched her paper 'Thirty Years after political independence: Creating political space for Zimbabwean women' during the recent parliamentary hearing 'Zimbabwe — Women's voices'. This hearing, which marked the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, focused on the participation of women in Zimbabwe's transition process. It looked not only at shortcomings, but also at opportunities for improvement in the provisions and declarations, especially Article 7 of the GPA and the UNSCR 1325, and at the role of the EU in this regard.

Speakers at this hearing, hosted by Judith Sargentini (Member of European Parliament), were the Honourable Sekai Holland, Co-Minister of the National Healing and Reconciliation Committee, Senator Sabine de Bethune of the Belgian Federal Parliament, Kati Leinonen from the Council of the European Union, Zimbabwean journalist Grace Kwinjeh and Betty Makoni, founder and Director of Girl Child Network Zimbabwe and Chief Executive Officer of Girl Child Network Worldwide. Honourable Minister Sekai Holland represented all three ministers for national healing and conciliation from the three different parties.

The meeting turned into a lively and highly emotional debate that emphasised the need for a global partnership to enable the successful inclusion of women in Zimbabwe's transitional process. Once again, the EU's vital role in the implementation and mainstreaming of the content of UNSCR 1325 was emphasised.

This brochure contains a summary of the speeches made at the parliamentary hearing 'Zimbabwe — Women's voices' and the biographies of the speakers and will be presented during the commemoration of the UN SCR 1325 in New York.

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read 'Mirjam van Reisen'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping underline.

Prof. Dr. Mirjam van Reisen
Director
Europe External Policy Advisors

2. Discussion

1. Honourable Minister Sekai Holland (Co-Minister of the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration)

In her speech, Honourable Minister Sekai Holland emphasised the importance of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) signed in 2008 by the Zimbabwe Africa National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the two Movements for Democratic Change (MDC and MDC-T). The GPA outlines the government's agenda. Minister Holland specifically pointed to Article 7 on the 'Promotion of Equality, National Healing, Cohesion and Unity', which ensures equal treatment for all, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity or place of origin. This historic agreement has, for the first time, allowed the various political parties to have input through the government on mechanisms and strategies to address national healing and reconciliation. Minister Holland also articulated the need for an inclusive, grassroots approach to enable the creation of a long-lasting and successful national platform for peace and stability.

She stressed that "only when people come together and agree to stop fighting can progress be achieved". Minister Holland also acknowledged that setbacks are normal during transitional processes. She pointed that peace does not necessarily bring an immediate cessation of violence, but there are now mechanisms in place through the inclusive government to bring those who violate the law to justice. Minister Holland appealed for patience from the international community, with regards to its expectations of life returning to normal in Zimbabwe, given the odds and the political dynamics at hand.

Minister Holland suggested that an action plan for UNSCR 1325 should be drafted and implemented by the current Government of National Unity (GNU) to ensure a global partnership. Finally, she pointed out that in this process "we have the opportunity to start a new Zimbabwe".

2. Senator Sabine de Bethune (Belgian Federal Parliament)

Senator Sabine de Bethune stated that the Belgian Presidency was giving priority to the UNSCR 1325. By the end of the year, the EU may present indicators that have been created to control and assess the mechanisms at stake. However, Senator de Bethune also acknowledged the gaps between the targets set in the many reports and assessment papers and the real action taken on the ground. Although UNSCR 1325 is an important milestone in profiling the role of women in the resolution of conflicts, "there exists a gap in the implementation process". The EU has still not managed to set up the right mechanisms to enable the successful implementation of the legal text in the Resolution.

Senator de Bethune pointed out, for instance, that there are no enforcing mechanisms linked to the Resolution; there is no clear monitoring plan to ascertain if a country is abiding by the targets and concrete indicators are still to be put in place. Until now, only 19 UN member states have national action plans in place. De Bethune, therefore, stressed the importance of getting more countries to come up with national action plans. She said that, overall, "the 10th anniversary can give us a new boost".

3. Kati Leinonen (Council of the European Union)

Kati Leinonen from the human rights unit of the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, pointed out that at EU level, some of the practical steps taken so far in terms of operationalising UNSCR 1325, include the adoption of a holistic EU policy on women, peace and security in 2008 — encompassing a comprehensive approach covering the whole 1325 agenda from prevention to protection and participation.

Leinonen stressed that while the European Union has had specific policies, in its external relations, on UNRSC 1325 since 2005, further efforts are necessary in order to implement the action plan successfully. Among some of the policy areas she felt needed enhancement is the need to mainstream gender implications and make better use of EU tools as diverse as development cooperation, Common Security and Defence Policy and political dialogue.

"This year the Council Secretariat and the Belgian Presidency of the European Council, with support of several EU Member States, have initiated the elaboration of standard training elements on human rights and gender in the context of CSDP/crisis management, also emphasising women's participation," she said.

She announced that in order to mark the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, CSDP missions and EU delegations will be organising "Open Days" to interact with women's organisations and civil society organisations working on gender issues in their respective countries.

With regards to Zimbabwe, she said that the EU was supporting efforts towards increasing women's participation in peace building, conflict resolution and reconstruction. "This is particularly important in the period leading up to the elections in 2011. As you are aware, Zimbabwean elections have been characterised by high levels of violence, including violence against women such as rape and torture. The EU has the potential to become a significant partner for Zimbabwe concerning the implementation of an action plan for UNSCR 1325", she said.

4. Grace Kwinjeh (Zimbabwean Journalist)

Zimbabwean journalist Grace Kwinjeh launched her paper 'Thirty years after political independence: Creating political space for Zimbabwean women'. She acknowledged the Global Political Agreement as an important milestone in the democratic transition process, but pointed to the fact that, although women played an important role in the struggle for democracy, they are still not granted sufficient political space to actively participate in the transition process. Accordingly, the women of the first generation who fought for their rights are still fighting, illustrating the lack of progress towards women's emancipation. Thus, "a serious paradigm shift is needed within the transitional process, from a male dominated model to a holistic gendered one in which women's participation is recognised and appreciated in the ushering in of a new democratic society". Kwinjeh concluded that, overall, democracy can only be achieved if women are actively included in the transitional process and if an equal partnership with men is ensured. "The cries of Zimbabwean women are still very loud", Kwinjeh stated.

5. Betty Makoni (Founder and Director of Girl Child Network Zimbabwe (GCN) and Chief Executive Officer of Girl Child Network Worldwide)

Betty Makoni urged the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration to address the issue of sexual violence against girls in times of political violence. Makoni emphasised that it is important that boys who raped the girls are held accountable in front of the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration. "Girls are the silent victims ... We want young men to tell the truth. They have to recognise the trauma they perpetrated on others". In order to strengthen the reconciliation process, families of both parties – the victims and perpetrators – should meet in public forums to talk to each other and address the problems they have lived through. Only then, according to Makoni, will there be a true and long-lasting justice and reconciliation. Makoni also pointed to the fact that such grassroots reconciliation meetings would not cost much and could be organised by Zimbabwean society itself.

3. Speaking Notes and Presentation

Speaking Notes: **Kati Leinonen**

- I am particularly happy to be in this event organised by the European Parliament that has since several years been a very strong advocate of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. This is a particularly timely discussion considering that it is almost exactly 10 years ago that the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325, which underlines the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security. Since then, the Security Council has reaffirmed this commitment with other resolutions. However, despite the best of intentions and efforts, this commitment is far from being fulfilled. For example, the international community, including the EU has not been able to end or limit the plague of violence against women in conflict-affected countries such as Zimbabwe and many others.
- The EU should lead by example. Currently, 9 EU Member States have adopted national action plans on Resolution 1325, and several others are in the pipeline. Practical example of what we are doing is, in 2008, the establishment of dedicated EU policy on women, peace and security – encompassing a comprehensive approach covering the whole 1325 agenda, from prevention to protection and participation. This summer the EU Council adopted 17 indicators to monitor the implementation of this policy. In the UN, the EU has systematically advocated for enhanced global monitoring of the implementation of Resolution 1325.
- We need to mainstream gender implications and make better use of EU tools as diverse as development cooperation, the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and political dialogue. In this, the CSDP/EU crisis management plays a significant role. We have reviewed our operational approach to the implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 within the Common Security and Defence Policy and installed specialist gender advisors or focal points in each of our crisis management missions and in many EU delegations.
- This year the Council Secretariat and the Belgian Presidency of the European Council have initiated the elaboration of standard training elements on human rights and gender in the context of CSDP/crisis management, also emphasising women's participation. Furthermore, to mark the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, CSDP missions and EU delegations will be organising 'Open Days' to interact with women's organisations and civil society organisations working on gender issues in their respective countries. The EU Council Secretariat is currently conducting a Lessons Identified exercise on mainstreaming human rights and gender in CSDP.
- In Zimbabwe, the European Commission is supporting UNIFEM to implement a Gender Support Programme, which involves capacity building of the Women's Coalition, a network of organisations working on women's rights and gender equality. The programme addresses the following thematic areas: women in decision-making; women and health including sexual and reproductive health and HIV/AIDS; economic empowerment; and legal reform. The participation of women in the ongoing constitutional reform process has also been supported.
- The European Commission is also supporting a project promoting women's property and inheritance rights, and has supported the capacity building of women parliamentarians. With regards to elections, it supported a project aimed at increasing the participation of women both as candidates and as voters in the 2008 elections.

- Currently, the European Commission is planning to fund women's participation in peace building, conflict resolution and reconstruction, thus increasing the participation of women in national processes. This is particularly important in the period leading up to the elections in 2011. As you are aware, Zimbabwean elections have been characterised by high levels of violence, including violence against women.
- Beyond sexual and gender based violence, the number of women participating in peace negotiations, as well as in dedicated post-conflict reconstruction programmes remain unacceptably low. Yet we know that that women's participation remains critical to ensure that everyone's needs and interests are reflected in peace agreements and post-conflict planning. We know that there are many remarkable examples of peace processes and programmes, including in Zimbabwe, in which women have made a difference; where women have mobilised, formed peace movements, practised quiet diplomacy and written proposals for post-conflict reconstruction programmes.
- The EU is a very important partner to Zimbabwe in terms of the global amount of aid provided. It has consequently a great potential to support Zimbabwe in its efforts to implement Resolution 1325. It would be interesting, also, to explore potential EU Member States interested in twinning with Zimbabwe in the elaboration of a national action plan on 1325.
- Overall, efforts, including the ones made by the EU, to implement and mainstream the content of UNSCR 1325 have been important, but need to be pursued with a sharper focus on achieving concrete results. It is important to mainstream gender in development cooperation; this is where the bulk of funding is. Specific projects can be used to support but should not replace mainstreaming. For the EU, the creation of the new External Action Service could provide new opportunities for enhanced action.



Kati Leinonen and Betty Makoni

Speaking Notes: Sabine de Bethune

1. Introduction

The brilliant presentation of her Excellency Ms Holland, Minister of Zimbabwe, is not only an eye-opener for me (on the concept of healing), but also very challenging for EU policies.

Speaking about UNSCR 1325, the evolution taking place in Zimbabwe now is also opening new perspectives and putting specific questions on the international agenda.

2. Belgian EU Presidency and UNSCR 1325

Let me give you the state of the art on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 today and the action being taken by the EU:

- Within the frame of the Belgian presidency of the EU, priority is being given to the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 and 'Women, peace and security'.
- The EU is committed to marking this moment, and a series of three seminars is being organised by Belgium and the EU. These seminars will be held in Brussels, Geneva and New York, around the 3 pillars of the Resolution: participation, protection and prevention.
- A joint team is working on a report that will provide input to the EU contribution in the Security Council on 29 October (open debate).
- The objective of these events is to gather a set of Resolutions that will represent the EU contribution in the UN events that celebrate that 10th anniversary.

3. Obstacles and challenges

The 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 provides us with momentum, not to celebrate, but to take action. To quote Ms Ashton at the Brussels conference: "UNSCR 1325 underlines the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance, promotion of peace and security; however, 10 years later, this commitment has not yet been fulfilled". It is clear that some persistent obstacles remain to the full implementation of UNSCR 1325. All actors agree that not enough progress has been made.

These obstacles are partly related to the lack of mechanisms for implementation:

- There are no penalties for countries that do not implement UNSCR 1325.
- There is no clear monitoring framework or indicators.
- There is not enough money available to implement the resolution (and no overview of existing budget lines either).
- Only a few countries have their own action plan on implementation.

And, on the other hand, we really have to make the existing action plans/policies more concrete:

- **Prevention:** We need better legal instruments and an end to impunity. How can we further enhance the rule of law and deal with those responsible for committing violations against human rights and fight against impunity? These issues must be a priority on the international agenda.
- **Participation:** Women must be empowered. Women are still underrepresented, and their voices are not heard. Quotas are needed, as well as specific budget lines for NGOs/women groups.
- **Protection:** How do we protect civilians, particularly women and children? We need to develop early warning procedures.



From left to right: Betty Makoni, Grace Kwinjeh, Mirjam van Reisen, Sekai Holland and Judith Sargentini

4. Belgium, a good practice?

Belgium is one of the EU Member States that has developed its own action plan since 2008 (1/19). The plan is the result of cooperation between various stakeholders at the federal level (in particular, the valuable contribution of the ministers of External Relations, Defence, Development and Cooperation, Interior and Justice), and has resulted in an integrated strategy on the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

The action plan was built bottom-up, it came from the grassroots:

- 2005: Resolution was made in the Senate
- 2006-07: Campaign launched (Nederlandstalige Vrouwenraad)
- 2008: Action plan adopted (evaluation in 2010)
- 2010: Civil society platform, coordinated by Nederlandstalige Vrouwenraad

Examples of actions under the action plan:

- Defence
- At the global level, Belgium is supporting and financially contributing to the work of Margot Wallström, special representative of Secretary-General on sexual violence in conflict.

Presentation: by Betty Makoni

Introduction

I am a Zimbabwean woman by birth and am aged 39. I had lived in Zimbabwe all my life until 17 March 2008, when I had to flee the country because my life was under threat from the youth militia. I am a survivor of threats, illegal arrests, the forced closure of my charity and of accusations that came out of a government paper that I have a hidden agenda to run political activities under the guise of a charity. It has been painful to work in my country, and yet I feel that as a representative of girls who are so vulnerable, invisible and the most affected by the turmoil here in Zimbabwe I should come and support any peace, reconciliation and justice initiatives.

I have supported over 35,000 girls during my leadership of the Girl Child Network Zimbabwe, and built four Girls Empowerment Villages, where girls who are victims of rape especially come to heal. Our network is estimated to have over 70,000 girls in Zimbabwe, and just recently the network expanded to the USA, Europe and parts of Africa as girls worldwide came in solidarity. This is where I am now as Chief Executive officer of the Girl Child Network Worldwide.

The problem

From 1983 until today, and during political violence, rape has been used as a weapon of war in Zimbabwe. In 2000, during farm invasions, many women and girls lost their jobs, homes, families and were raped. During the elections in 2002, rape was used as a weapon of war, and many reports testify to the fact that the pain was just beyond comprehension. Not much documentation was done, and even with the estimated 2000 cases of rape, none of the women have been assisted due to non-availability of rape crisis facilities in the country and for fear of stigma from community and family.

In July 2008, I was part of an AIDS FREE deposition of evidence by rape survivors in Botswana, and I have learnt that Zimbabwean men have perpetrated rape given the slightest opportunity during war and turmoil — and they have walked away scot-free even though in Zimbabwe rape is classified as a crime. Girls are the most silent victims of this silent genocide that has taken place in Zimbabwe.

The story

On 15 May 2008, Zimbabwean authorities began a campaign of terror targeting people believed to support the political opposition. Girls were subjected to a wide range of sexual violence including gang rape, beatings, torture and the threat of HIV infection. The victims sustained severe physical and emotional trauma and humiliation. These girls lived through a plague of brutal violence; most of them were held hostage as what they called *chimbwidos* in the liberation war, and they would go for overnight *pungwes* or night vigils. Rape was used as a weapon of political intimidation to instil fear in us, in our families and our communities. Even after the political violence, those affiliated to political parties did not stop abusing girls. Rape is being used as a weapon in Zimbabwe by the Johane Marange Church, because of their political affiliation, and girls are held hostage as sex slaves in polygamous marriages. It is feared over 8,000 girls are being held hostage in Church organised marriages fuelled by the declaration that men can have as many wives as they want.

As evidence shows, sexual violence transmits the AIDS virus. For many girls it is a grotesque tragedy: rape, HIV/AIDS, pregnancy and loss of education. What we fought for as an organisation to empower girls and ensure gender equality was razed to the ground in 2008. The Government erased all its success stories on gender equality when they let the youth militia free to terrorise girls.

Youth militias (boys) are always set up and they hold whole villages hostage as they move door to door to wreak violence and humiliation. The youth militias congregate in schools and near police stations, and they set up bases from which they torture and rape girls. Young girls are forced onto the bases where an estimated 800 girls have been raped. The most recent report of rape perpetrated by the youth militia took place on 24 July 2010. This rape has continued unabated, despite ongoing talks between Zimbabwe's major political parties.

A 13-year old girl was abducted and exchanged for a goat. She was detained for two or three weeks during which she was repeatedly raped. This is a typical story conveyed to me by victims. At least 53 women and girls have stepped forward to document their cases and demand justice. They have been denied access to women's hospitals in Zimbabwe, despite appearing with bleeding organs and severe physical injuries. The few doctors who agreed to see them were horrified by what they saw. Pesticides, sticks and other objects were inserted in their vaginas. During the acts of rape, the perpetrators — members of the youth militia — told the victims that "we are raping you so that you will give birth to ZANU-PF babies". And true to this, many babies were born as a result of this violence.

Girls and women were tortured while they were being raped. As a result, girls fell pregnant and they were nicknamed Tony Blair prostitutes, something psychologically haunting for life. Sometimes we watched helplessly as girls were beaten on their buttocks and breasts.

Most rape survivors are from 13 to 60 years old, and all are from rural areas. Before the latest wave of violence, at least 10 girls were raped every day in Zimbabwe. Since this campaign began, the rapes have increased two or three fold.

Teachers who are trained to work in coordinating elections in Zimbabwe and polling agents are also targets of rape. Reports state that 20,000 teachers out of 80,000 were displaced. Other groups that suffer include female police officers and workers of NGOs who are abducted and have disappeared. Many victims who have been raped by the youth militia have been displaced and cannot be located.

The reality of this situation is that the women and girls — the victims — are terrified, in tears, with broken relationships, stigmatised, and in ill health. The psychological damage to women and girls is extensive and irreparable.

I was prompted to act on these cases due to the calls for urgent help that I received from these women. The crimes were committed against the poorest women in Zimbabwe, those who cannot possibly defend themselves or seek justice. Even now, they aren't safe; they live in rural areas and are surrounded by youth militia.

Role of girls in the healing and transition process

I believe in the present and the future, and I rely on the past to present lessons. I will also offer some practical actions that girls can take in the healing and reconciliation process.

Girls empowerment clubs

Girls must be supported to set up and run their own girls empowerment clubs and initiate healing and reconciliation programmes. They must be in charge of the process so that they bring out solutions that work. Girls clubs should decide what can be done about the rapists around them. An opportunity to debrief, seek counselling or even do anything has not been possible in real and practical terms must be provided. Most of what we call reconciliation and healing falls far short of dealing with the amount of loss, grief, bereavement and breakdown of family unit suffered by girls.

Replication of the girl child empowerment model

The empowerment of girls is key. It is a process of facilitating, instilling and providing the means that girls need — spaces that are safe to get peer to peer counselling. Girls need new values instilled in them so that they can have a sense of self worth and self value. Girls need to be provided with materials, counselling, legal aid, and medication, and some compensation should be given to the girls who have suffered.

Truth, reconciliation and justice

Girls will learn through their clubs that rape is a crime and seek justice without fear. Healing from rape is next to impossible if the perpetrator is not punished.

Activities in peace, justice, reconciliation and healing

Art, debate, photography, essays, poetry and musical clubs should be set up to instil a culture of peace.

Conclusion

I wish the rapes had never happened. It is tragic that they did. But the pain has been there for such a long time and it might be the right time to heal, as other options are minimal.

4. Biographies

Judith Sargentini

Member of the European Parliament



Judith Sargentini (born 1974, Amsterdam) is a Member of the European Parliament for GroenLinks, the Dutch Greens. She is a member of the committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs and substitute member of the Committee on Development. She is Vice-Chair of the delegation for relations with South Africa.

Sargentini was 25 years old when she became Councillor in the municipality of Amsterdam. Prior to this, she was active in the student movement as a board member for the European Federation of Student Unions (ESIB), in which she has, among other things, helped Eastern-European student organisations with their fight for democracy. In the Netherlands, she was the secretary of the National Student Union (LSVB) and board member of Dwars, the youth organisation of GroenLinks.

Besides her political activities, Sargentini has worked for several NGOs in the field of development aid. She was consultant for Eurostep, a network of European non-governmental development organisations. For many years she worked as lobbyist for the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa. Sargentini was also international campaign coordinator for Fatal Transactions, a public campaign on conflict diamonds and the economics of warfare.

Sargentini would like Europe to act more responsible towards the rest of the world. She says that climate change affects people in developing countries the most. Therefore, the EU should offer solutions to poverty, the food crisis and migration issues by choosing for a sustainable economy. Sargentini studied modern history at the University of Amsterdam and currently resides in Amsterdam.

Sekai Holland

Co-Minister of National Healing and Reconciliation



The Honourable Sekai M. Holland is Minister of State in the Zimbabwe Prime Minister's Office. She is Co-Organ Principal in the Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration, in the Office of the President and Cabinet.

From the late 1960s onwards, Ms Holland supported the African and other Liberation Movements in the Australasian region. Together with her spouse Jim Holland, she was a founding member of Australia's Anti-Apartheid Movement, as well as an activist in the Aboriginal rights campaigns of that era. She was a member of the Imurenga General Council of ZANU (1973–76) in her capacity as the Party's Chief Representative in Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific and Asia.

A media trainer by profession, after independence she was a founding member of staff of the Zimbabwe Institute of Mass Communications (ZIMCO), the first training college for media practitioners in Zimbabwe. She was also a founding member of the Federation of African Media Women in Zimbabwe (FAMWZ) in 1983. A gender activist, Ms Holland was elected National Chairperson in 1986 of the Association of Women's Clubs (a grassroots women's movement founded in 1938), a position which she held until 1999.

In 1999, Ms Holland became a founding member of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), representing women in the MDC's formative stages. She was appointed first MDC Secretary for International Affairs, and is now MDC-T Secretary for Policy and Research (Ideology) and a member of both the National Executive Committee (NEC) and the National Council (NC). On 11 March 2007, Ms Holland was badly tortured at Machipisa Police Station, along with 139 others in the MDC-T leadership. She returned home after a long period of treatment in South Africa and Australia to participate in the harmonised 2008, elections on 29 March, during which she was elected Senator of the Harare Province, Chizhanje seat. Ms Holland is now leader of the MDC-T in the Senate.

Sabine de Bethune

Belgium Senator



Sabine de Bethune has been a senator in the Belgian Federal Parliament since 1995, re-elected in 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2010. She is also Chairwoman of the Flemish Christian Democrats (CD&V) in the Senate.

Until recently, de Bethune was the National President of the CD&V-Working group 'Women and Society', in which she played a leading role in the fight for equal opportunities. She was the first female Vice-President of the Senate from 1999 to 2003.

As a member of the Commission on External affairs, she has gained a thorough insight into matters related to development cooperation and international relations. In the Belgian Parliament she works for equality between men and women, a sustainable quality of life, and children and family affairs, and promotes solidarity among people.

Kati Leinonen

Human Rights Policy Officer in the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union



Ms Kati Leinonen is currently working as Human Rights Policy Officer in the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union. Her thematic responsibilities include gender equality, women's rights, women, peace and security, children affected by armed conflict and human rights in Sub-Saharan Africa.

She was the key promoter and drafter of the December 2008 Comprehensive EU Approach to the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security and is a Co-chair of the EU Women, Peace and Security Task Force. Kati has Masters Degrees in Economics and Business Administration as well as in Human Rights and Democratisation. She has worked in the human rights field since 1997, of which seven years were spent in field positions in Africa.

Grace Kwinjeh

Journalist



Grace Kwinjeh is a journalist and women's rights activist, with more than a decade experience in the fight for the rights of women, both in her country, Zimbabwe, the region and internationally. Kwinjeh is a founding member of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), and she has been in the leadership of the MDC, the National Constitutional Assembly and the Women's Coalition in Zimbabwe. Since 1998, Kwinjeh has been imprisoned on many occasions and held on several charges.

Kwinjeh was the MDC Representative to the European Union from 2000 to 2005, after which she went back to Zimbabwe where she faced persecution and harassment. Kwinjeh left Zimbabwe after she was brutally tortured on 11 March 2007.

She has been exiled in South Africa and Rwanda. Kwinjeh has now settled in Belgium where she has re-united with her three children after five years of separation. She is currently the Interim Chairperson of the Global Zimbabwe Forum, an association of more than two million exiled Zimbabweans.

Betty Makoni

Founder and Director of Girl Child Network Zimbabwe (GCN)



Betty Makoni (39) (BA Gen, Hons) is a gender activist, Founder and Director of Girl Child Network Zimbabwe (GCN) and Chief Executive Officer of Girl Child Network Worldwide, an organisation that champions the rights of the girl child in Zimbabwe and the world over. She holds two Bachelor of Arts Honours Degrees from the University of Zimbabwe. Betty Makoni has mobilised financial resources to build four Girls Empowerment Villages, which provide safe shelter, healing and a future for sexually abused girls.

A survivor of rape at age six and an orphan at age nine, Betty Makoni fought for her education. She now fights for girls in similar circumstances, being the consistent voice reminding policy makers and leaders to change policies, attitudes and laws that are detrimental to the growth and development of the girl child.

Makoni is renowned for her great innovation in designing proactive and preventative girl child empowerment programmes, which have directly benefit over 45,000 girls in Zimbabwe. She is also the former Chairperson of the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe and a former member of Oxfam Novib Round Table, Global Campaign Against Poverty Ambassador for Zimbabwe 2006. She is the founder of Ray of Hope-Network, an organisation for rape and domestic violence survivors, which she co-founded.

Realising the great contribution Betty Makoni has made to the development of women in Zimbabwe, she has received 18 national and global awards, the most recent being the CNN 2009 Hero Award for protection of the powerless.

5. List of Participants

Name	Organisation
Elena Volpi	European Commission - AIDCO
Katyamadzo Mabhudhu	Organ for National Healing Zimbabwe
Tinaye Nyanhongo	Organ for National Healing Zimbabwe
Marieke van Doorn	Head of Programmes European Partnership for Democracy
Cecilia Arvedi	Assistant of MEP Patrizia Toia
Nesbert Sawasuwo	Embassy of Zimbabwe, Brussels
Charles Zanza	Embassy of Zimbabwe, Brussels
Martin Tanvenyalea	Embassy of Zimbabwe, Brussels
Florian Eisele	Ampersand Global
James Wanter	International Herald Tribune, New York Times
Liana Luecke	Assistant Eurostep
Thierry Coryn	Assistant of senator de Bethune
Dr. Wambui R. Wamuthenya	Nascent RDO Nairobi
Ruby Thompoor	MEP's assistant
Björn Hultin	Intercity Consulting
Simon Stocker	Eurostep
Teodora Marinska	Assistant of MEP Barbara Matera
Sharran Wix	
Bridget Tapuwa	Self-employed
J. Bokser	Assistant of MEP Filip Kaczmarek
Yvonne Stausboll	
Rudu Chraya	Organ for National Healing Zimbabwe
Anderson Chiraya	Organ for National Healing Zimbabwe
Julie Hbran	Intern OMCT "World Organisation Against Torture"
Monique Ouassa Kouaro	NGO "Femme Durable"
Ellitah Bere	Zimbabwe Humanitarian Crisis
Rita Quinot	
Tudi Kevnalegan	Assistant of MEP Nicole Kiil-Nielsen
Irene Vallentinuzzi	Programme Manager EEPA
Ludovic Mollier	Assistant Project Manager EEPA
Gisela Ten Kate	Assistant of MEP Judith Sargentini

6. Program

Opening

Judith Sargentini, MEP

Panel Discussion

Implementing UN SCR 1325 in Zimbabwe & Creating political space for Zimbabwean Women

Key Note Address

Honourable Minister Sekai Holland, Co-Minister of the national organ for reconciliation & healing

Update of the processes of transition: Constitution, Elections, and Transitional Justice.

What does the Organ for National Healing and Reconciliation represent?

How can women be involved in these processes — how does Zimbabwe intend to implement a policy on UNSCR 1325. Does it have an action plan on UNSCR 1325?

Speeches

Senator Sabine de Bethune, Belgian Parliament

The Belgian EU Presidency has UN SCR 1325 and 1860 high on its priorities and recently a high-level meeting was held in Brussels; what are the priorities? What should be next steps, emphasis on need for implementation? How can Belgium and the EU support this?

Ms Kati Leinonen, Council of the EU

Short overview of the EU policy, support to UN SCR 1325 plans, UN SCR 1325 guidelines.

Q&A

Presentations

Grace Kwinjeh, Journalist

Presentation of the paper: "Thirty Years after Political Independence: Creating Political Space for Zimbabwean Women"

Betty Makoni, (Founder and Director of Girl Child Network Zimbabwe (GCN) and Chief Executive Officer of Girl Child Network World Wide)

Girls & children in transitional justice; What should be done in order to address child abuse, especially sexual violence on girls? What role should the organ for national reconciliation and healing play in this regard?

Q&A

Recommendations and Closing

Judith Sargentini, MEP

II. Paper by Grace Kwinjeh

Thirty years after political independence: Creating political space for Zimbabwean women

Summary

As Zimbabwe celebrates 30 years of independence, it finds itself at yet another defining moment. Although women played a high profile role in the struggle for democracy and better governance in Zimbabwe, they are still fighting for political space. The culture and practices emanating from the prevailing patriarchal order in Zimbabwe pervade all aspects of life, undermining ideals of a society based on equality, equity, justice and sustainable development. Even with the attainment of independence from white colonial rule in 1980, the discourse on women's rights has remained anchored in the critique of the system of governance and how its deeply rooted patriarchal practices prevent women from enjoying their universally accepted human rights.

The repression of Zimbabwean women before, during and after colonial rule has resulted in them suffering the double yoke of oppression and marginalisation. The intensified contest for political power over the past decade has impacted greatly on women, who have not only endured brutality, but lost their voice, while being further marginalised from the country's governance discourse and economic development. Women's voices are also muted in international diplomacy, despite recognition of their sacrifices during the intensified political violence and awareness of their oppression.

The shrinking political space within which women operate has also undermined their ability to mobilise and accumulate the political currency necessary for them to effect change. This is further compounded by the fact that, in response to their dire personal situations, women have been compartmentalised based on polarised political positions for survival.

Zimbabwe is undergoing a transition that will make or break this fragile society and its hopes for a future of peace, stability and prosperity. Zimbabwe's own birth from white colonial rule to independence is testimony to the centrality of a politics of inclusion in transitional processes so as not to undermine lasting peace and democratic governance. Zimbabweans desire a democratic transition that will result in political stability. Zimbabweans want a transition that opens up the democratic space for all; one that gives both women and men the right to vote for leaders of their choice, participate in the writing of a new constitution, and enjoy basic human rights such as access to education and adequate healthcare.

There is widespread consensus that women have an important role to play in post-conflict political transitions. History has proven that the inclusion of women as key stakeholders in transitional processes results in long-term solutions that benefit the society as a whole.

It is clear that Zimbabwe is at a crossroads, with Zimbabweans involved in processes they believe will usher in a new democratic society. Key among these is the current Government of National Unity (GNU) formed in September 2008 under the Global Political Agreement (GPA) signed by three political parties — the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T) and the MDC. The GPA recognises the importance of women:

...recognizing, accepting and acknowledging that the values of justice, fairness, openness, tolerance, equality, non-discrimination and respect of all persons without regard to race, class, gender, ethnicity, language, religion, political opinion, place of origin or birth are the bedrock of our democracy and good governance.¹

However, the way the debate has been framed by the different players (political parties and civil society) lacks an adequately gendered perspective. To make a successful transition towards a democratic society that recognises women as key stakeholders in equal partnership with men, women must be included in the transitional processes, in finding solutions to end the conflict and in building a new democratic society.

¹ Agreement between the ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC on resolving the challenges facing Zimbabwe, signed 15 September 2008.

A serious paradigm shift is needed within the transitional process from a male dominated model to a holistic gendered one in which women's participation is recognised and appreciated in the ushering in of a new democratic society — a paradigm shift based on international principles and guidelines that have a bearing on women's participation and their role in transitional processes towards peace. Women have an important role to play in transforming society through conflict resolution and peace building, as outlined in the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security:

*...stressing the importance of [women's] equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.*²

The failure by the GNU to deliver on key issues to do with ending violence, the pervasive culture of impunity and other issues to do with democratic accountability cannot be divorced from its failure to deliver for women at different levels of society, especially as important stakeholders in conflict resolution. It is not coincidental that the trampling of human rights has continued unabated even with an inclusive government in place. Speaking during the commemoration of the brutal attacks against civic and political leaders on 11 March 2007, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai lamented the lack of democracy in the country, despite the inclusive government: "We have not yet made the type of progress or democratic reforms which were the very reason for entering into this new administration".³

It is clear that Zimbabwe's envisaged transition towards a more peaceful, democratic society cannot take place without the full participation of women. Be it in their small communities in the villages, in national politics or in international diplomacy, their voice is crucial to the building of a new Zimbabwe.

Introduction

Amid much hope and euphoria, Zimbabwe gained independence from the colonial Rhodesian regime in 1980. The feeling was that majority black rule would bring with it the anticipated political and economic reforms to do with 'one-man-one-vote', wealth redistribution and equality for all. As for the rest of Africa, the aspirations of Zimbabweans for a new political order have remained a far off dream and proper independence an illusion.

Consequently, after 30 years of 'independence', the political terrain in Zimbabwe is still heavily contested. The country is poorer than it was in 1980 and is characterised by deepening inequality. The majority of its 11 million citizens are languishing in poverty as the social structures collapse (health, education system and social services) and the country's resources are plundered. In particular, Zimbabwean women have been pushed to the periphery of political and economic life, struggling to survive.

In the midst of the despair, the formation of the inclusive Government of National Unity (GNU) under the Global Political Agreement (GPA) seems to have ushered in hope for Zimbabweans and provided a reprieve from the persistent political and economic pressures endured by citizens on a daily basis over the past decade. More structural and political challenges must be faced before the GNU can deliver holistic change — even as its own viability is under threat as a result of unresolved issues.

Article VI of the GPA contains some important commitments to gender justice:

*Mindful of the need to ensure that the new Constitution deepens our democratic values and principles and the protection of the equality of all citizens, particularly the enhancement of full citizenship and equality of women.*⁴

The GPA also includes a perspective on national healing and reconciliation, a process with great relevance to women. The GPA establishes an Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and

2 United Nations Security Council (2000) *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). Women, Peace and Security*. New York: United Nations.

3 Ndodana, S. 2010. "No progress on democracy: Tsvangirai". *ZimOnline*, 12 March 2010. [Online] Available at: <http://www.zimonline.co.za/Article.aspx?ArticleId=5824> (accessed 23 September 2010).

4 Agreement between the ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC on resolving the challenges facing Zimbabwe, signed 15 September 2008.

Integration under the President's office, pertaining to the whole government. Article VII of the GPA, on the promotion of equality, national healing, cohesion and unity, sets out that:

*The Parties hereby agree that the new Government: will ensure equal treatment of all regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin and will work towards equal access to development for all; will strive to create an environment of tolerance and respect among Zimbabweans and that all citizens are treated with dignity and decency irrespective of age, gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin or political affiliation.*⁵

Moreover, Zimbabwe is signatory to various international instruments and agreements that seek to promote and enhance the status of women in society (i.e., Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on Civil and Political Rights, Convention on Economic and Social Rights, Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the Beijing Platform of Action and SADC Protocol on Gender and Development). Section 1.11 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe provides that these international instruments be ratified and incorporated into national law, but not all of them have been.

This paper posits that, due to the failure of Zimbabwe at its birth to start on the right footing with democratic governance encompassing equal opportunities for all, including women, political and economic progress has been retarded, presenting an even bigger challenge for the pro-democracy movement to ensure a paradigm shift and reverse the status quo. No analysis of the state of the women's movement in Zimbabwe is complete without considering the country's past of exclusionary politics, which has marginalised women, who were considered second class citizens until the enactment of the Legal Age of Majority in 1982. This is further compounded by the fact that, even with heightened calls for democracy and better governance, Zimbabwe remains a deeply patriarchal society, a phenomenon that transcends all spheres of life — cultural, religious, political and social.

This paper argues that the inability of the Zimbabwean women's movement to thrive rests on a number of historical factors compounded by the deeply entrenched patriarchal nature of the society, which has renewed itself with more intensity and force over the generations, presenting women with a double struggle: a fight against state tyranny and a fight for space within the pro-democracy movement to articulate their own agenda. Women in Zimbabwe find themselves either in a compromise position or at loggerheads with the various fractions of patriarchy. This greatly undermines their ability to build consensus on issues that unite them and to move forward.

Zimbabwe's women's movement

Under colonial rule, there was silent agreement between white males and black males in the oppression of black women, as white 'Victorian' notions of the subservient and domestically industrious woman found resonance within traditional African culture. The collusion of white and black patriarchy resulted in the formulation and codification of the legal system known today as Customary Law. Joan May describes this system as an "invented tradition" because "rules which might have evolved, customs and traditions which might have altered radically or gradually been discarded in favour of more adaptive legal norms harden and are subject to manipulation rather than evolution".⁶

During liberation, women liberators started organising themselves and creating 'safe spaces' in which to articulate their issues, which they hoped would be part of the new Zimbabwe. According to Woman Plus, a publication by the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network, in an edition that focuses on the women's movement in Zimbabwe:

During the struggle for independence the liberation Movements had women's wings. Although they were more concerned with the immediate task of liberating the country from colonialism, there is evidence to show that women's issues began to be considered in the 70s in anticipation of the new socio-economic and political order that was to be created at independence. For example, in May 1979, the ZANU Women's League organised the Xai Xai Conference in Mozambique and one of the tasks for the

⁵ Ibid, Article VII

⁶ Ziyambi, N.M. (1997) *The battle of the mind: International new media elements of the new religious political right in Zimbabwe*. Oslo: University of Oslo, pp 7–9. Available from: Department of Media and Communication (info@media.uio.no).

conference's consideration was the review of customary law practice and tradition with a view to the modification of those aspects which inhibit the emancipation of the woman.⁷

On women liberation fighters, feminist Patricia Chogugudza states:

Zimbabwean women, like their counterparts in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, joined the armed struggle. Their hope was that with the revolution, gender equality would be certain. Women who could not conform to tradition saw the revolution as an opportunity to escape difficult situations. Yet feminist critics argue that at the end of the struggle, women's status actually fell as nationalist leaders and nationalist-oriented societies, in the quest of preserving tradition, expected women to be guardians of culture and respectability, or mistresses of the emerging ruling elites, or wives and mothers, recruiters for political parties, and labourers for the new market economy, while men were engaged in competition for political power in the state and the accumulation of wealth.⁸

According to Horace Campbell, women's current position is the result of the historical fact that Zimbabwe's transition from white colonial rule did not dismantle the structures of patriarchy or oppression, which happen to serve the current regime just as well.

The Lancaster House Constitution of 1979 was a compromise document between the white minority regime and male representatives of the various liberation movements, arrived at after a three-month debate. Viewed largely as a ceasefire document, the transitional process that followed had a very narrow and male-biased approach to resolving the conflict. Women were absent from the negotiating table. This is despite the fact that women had borne the brunt of much of the violence, fought alongside their male counterparts, and sacrificed their lives in the prolonged and vicious armed struggle. As Campbell points out in his critique of the patriarchal model of liberation:

The victory of the guerrillas in the liberation struggle had been a joint effort of both men and women, but in the post-independence period, African males who had celebrated women in combat called on the same women to carry out their respectable role as mothers.⁹

One can argue that it was at that particular historical moment that Zimbabwean women were shackled in patriarchal bondage, from which they have never been freed. What is even more frightening in the way history is repeating itself is that women were not passive combatants, but had a very active discourse on their emancipation and welfare should independence be attained. Women's agenda and perspective did exist before independence, not only among Zimbabwean women, but even with their African counterparts who were also at the forefront of liberation movements.

The battle for emancipation continued even after independence. The government structures set up to serve the 'interests of women' became suspect as they were largely vehicles of sloganeering and entrenched women in a subservient role. For example, a Ministry of Women's Affairs was set up in 1981, not to deliver change, but to ensure male superiority in the new Zimbabwe. Feminists Rudo Gaidzwana and Ona Jirira were among the first women to academically critique this patriarchal model of governance.

Even as these women tried to articulate a women's liberation agenda at the time, women's consciousness of their own oppression was obscured by the promise of a new Zimbabwe. In fact, the backlash against the pioneers of the women's movement soon after independence was quite severe, especially for those who advocated for women's emancipation. This backlash was more vicious from fellow females than males. Success for any woman was measured in terms of the domestic sphere. Marriage and children were taken as signs of being organised and stable, relegating women to the domestic sphere in which they are easier to control and regulate through cultural and traditional norms.

7 Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN) (2001) *Tracing the path of the women's movement. Final Edition of Women Plus*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.iiav.nl/eazines/email/WomenPlus/1-101.pdf> (accessed 23 September 2010).

8 Chogugudza, P. (n.d.) *Gender and war – Zimbabwean women and the liberation struggle*. [Online] Available at: http://arts.brunel.ac.uk/gate/entertext/6_2/ET62ChogugudzaED.doc (accessed 23 September 2010), p 36.

9 Campbell, H. (2003) *Reclaiming Zimbabwe. The exhaustion of the patriarchal model of liberation*. South Africa: David Phillips and Trenton.

It is no accident, therefore, that the first attack on women was against those who broke the routine by going out to work in the formal sector and coming home in the evenings just like their male counterparts. The first attack was 'operation clean up' in October 1983, in which soldiers and police swept through the major city centres of Zimbabwe, arbitrarily arresting unaccompanied women and charging them with 'prostitution'.

The attacks and injustice suffered by Zimbabwean women became a point for mobilisation by women through the setting up of NGOs such as the Women's Action Group in 1983. "These (at least initially) saw Zimbabwean women of all races working together to challenge the patriarchal precepts of a society that tolerated the abuse of women by men, and the increasing invocation of tradition to validate discriminatory behaviour."¹⁰

The second attack on women was the bid to replace the Social Welfare Organisations Act with new legislation that would make the control of welfare organisations, most of which were headed by women, much easier. In late 1994, the Private Voluntary Organisations Bill was gazetted, and by March 1995 it was law.

The Association of Women's Clubs, then chaired by Senator Sekai Holland, was one of the organisations, to be struck off the NGO roll. Holland challenged the suspension in the Supreme Court. She argued that the action contravened Section 18 of the Constitution (protection of the law) on the grounds that no fair hearing was provided, and that it also contravened the right to freedom of assembly and association and the right to freedom of expression. The Court agreed with her first argument and declared Section 21 of the Act unconstitutional, but it did not comment on the contravention of the other rights. The Government backed down and respected the ruling of the court.

After 30 years of independence, the women's movement in Zimbabwe can still be defined by its main motivation: the creation of a 'safe space' for women to mobilise and articulate their issues for the common purpose of building the necessary political currency to effect positive change, in which the main challenges have been agenda setting and self-renewal within a hostile and rapidly shrinking operating environment.

The operating environment — Shrinking spaces for women

In the current operating environment, earlier gains by the women's movement have been reversed and women have been forced to concentrate on survival. The average life expectancy for a Zimbabwean woman is 34 (latest figures, reported in 2006) — the lowest in the world.¹¹ This figure speaks volumes about the level of suffering of women under the current multi-faceted crisis, made worse by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. With the economy in collapse, 72 per cent of Zimbabweans live below the poverty line, hyperinflation was recorded in 2008 at 160,000 per cent and rising, and the health and education sectors are in complete collapse.

Given the above, one can safely conclude that the mounting problems facing Zimbabwean women have forced them back to a more primitive era where their main value was based on their reproductive capacity and functions within the family and community as mothers and caregivers. As the economic and political crisis deepened, women greatly subsidised the state as they took over basic functions in the domestic arena at the expense of their hard won gains as members of the workforce or in the public domain.

Women are also seriously undermined and underfunded in the political parties, lacking the power and agency to influence their parties. Women's wings (MDC Women's Assembly and ZANU-PF's Women's League) operate as support structures for the male party leaders. Instead of creating space for women to freely express their needs, these 'wings' are there to contain and mould female members into 'good cadres', according to the expectations and for the satisfaction of the male leaders. Yet both ZANU-PF and MDC-T recognise and honour the important role played by women; both parties have women in the leadership, women with a track record as fighters for political rights.

10 Essof, S. (2005) "She-murenga: Challenges, opportunities and setbacks of the women's movement in Zimbabwe". *Feminist Africa*, Issue 4.

11 Nordqvist, C. (2006) *Zimbabwe life expectancy lowest in the world*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/41339.php> (accessed 15 June 2010).

The performance of the main political parties has also been dismal in terms of promoting women to positions of power and decision-making. The country has failed to reach the 30 per cent representation of women in parliament since 1980, as Table 1 shows.

Table 1: Unicameral Parliament

Elections and appointments	Seats	Men	Women	% of Women
1990	150	133	17	11.3
1995	150	129	21	14.0
2000	150	136	14	9.3
2005	150	126	24	16
2008	210	180	30	14.29

Source: Government of Zimbabwe figures available at: http://www.parlzim.gov.zw/cms/FactSheet/History_of_Women_Parliamentarians.pdf

Women are faced with obstacles in dismantling patriarchy within their political systems, and have also suffered from political violence. A report released by AIDS-Free World in December 2009 reports how sexual terror in the form of rape was used by ZANU-PF as a strategy against female opposition activists:

*AIDS-Free World's investigation of the rape surrounding the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe reveals two stark facts: it was a widespread, systematic campaign against MDC female members and supporters, calculated to intimidate, humiliate, and punish them — and by extension, their families — for their political affiliation; and the patterns and similarities that emerge from survivors, show that history in Zimbabwe is repeating itself.*¹²

This is supported by the Sonke Gender Justice Network which reported, that in 2008, “more than 2000 women of all ages were abducted, raped, tortured, and beaten across Zimbabwe for their political affiliations”.¹³

The report by Aids-Free World further states that every one of the women targeted for rape was either a member of the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), or was closely related to a member of the MDC.

The sustained series of relentless violent attacks on women leaders in civil society has impacted on the ability of individual women to continue in the struggle. The brutality meted out against female civil rights activists, is well documented, one of the most famous being the case of Jestina Mukoko, Director of the Zimbabwe Peace Project.¹⁴ Mukoko was abducted from her home by members of the dreaded Central Intelligence Organisation in December 2008 and held captive in police custody for several weeks, where she was brutally tortured, before being brought to court.

Another example is the case of the Secretary General of the General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe, Gertrude Hambira, now living in exile in South Africa.¹⁵

Hambira's ordeal began last February when she was interrogated by members of the Joint Operation Command regarding her work in championing the rights of farm workers, whose rights have been violated and livelihoods destroyed as a result of Zimbabwe's chaotic land reform programme. Hambira, through video footage taken with mobile phones, has exposed all forms of brutality on farms, including sexual violence meted out against female farm workers.

However, while the operating environment has been particularly difficult for women in the leadership of both civil society and the opposition, the main MDC-T party has also been found wanting in so far as intra-party democracy and respect for women's rights is concerned. A

12 AIDS-Free World (2009) *Electing to rape: Sexual terror in Mugabe's Zimbabwe*. Johannesburg: AIDS-Free World. Available at: <http://www.aids-freeworld.org/content/view/339/198/> (accessed 10 June 2010).

13 Sonke Gender Justice Network (2009) *End politically motivated violence against women in Zimbabwe*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/end-politically-motivatedviolence-against-women.html> (accessed 25 August 2009).

14 Howden, D. (2009) “Jestina Mukoko: ‘Mugabe's henchmen came for me before dawn’”. *The Independent UK*, 17 January 2009. [Online] Available at: <http://www.news.independentminds.livejournal.com/2009/01/17/>.

15 Amnesty International (2010) *Zimbabwe union leader hiding after police raid*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/zimbabwean-union-leader-hiding-after-police-raid-2010-02-24> (accessed 25 September 2010).

system of patronage exists that favours those aligned to senior male leaders, instead of merit based on hard work and sacrifice. A case in point is the contested case of veteran trade unionist Lucia Matibenga, who was unceremoniously removed from her position as the chairperson of the Women's Assembly in favour of the wife of the party leader, Morgan Tsvangirai's financier Teresa Makone.¹⁶

Bridging the gap among women

Women living in poverty have been forced to prioritise survival, abandoning aspirations for equality in favour of meeting more basic needs. The strategies employed to address the many socio-political issues women are faced with also vary. Most recently, the absence of a united agenda among women has meant that they have entered the constitutional reform process divided, undermining their ability to champion change collectively. Women's opinions on a new constitution are polarised on the basis of their organisations or political parties, undermining their ability to agitate for women's issues in the new constitution. In other words, women in Zimbabwe lack a united agenda and common strategy for achieving their agenda.

An example of a poor result due to the lack of a united women's voice is how women failed to collectively lobby for 50:50 representation on committees tasked with the revision of the country's supreme law. The co-chairpersons of the Constitution Parliamentary Committee (COPAC) are all male representatives of the three parties, Paul Mangwana (ZANU-PF), Douglas Mwonozora (MDC-T) and Edward Mkhosi (MDC). Even the chairpersons of the thematic committees and their deputies are predominantly male; of the seven chairs from ZANU-PF, only one is a woman, the MDC-T seconded three women out of seven chairpersons, while the MDC's two chairpersons are men.¹⁷

Zimbabwean women have also had difficulty in defining themselves as either feminists or gender activists, with a lot of energy spent in trying to distinguish one from the other, instead of identifying key issues as a basis for solidarity. Whatever a woman's orientation, all women — urban, rural, feminists and gender activists — have an interest in the cost of sanitation, health issues that pertain to women, and access to basic health/education.

Women's Coalition — test case for united front

The Women's Coalition was formed in 1999, at the height of the constitutional reform process, with the aim of creating a space for women to articulate their issues in relation to the constitution. Chaired by feminist Thoko Matshe, the Coalition has made great strides in mobilising women across the political, class and ethnic divide for a common agenda.

Zimbabwe's transition — A struggle within a struggle

The crucial question is whether or not the pressure on women will ease now that the GNU is in place, leading to the opening up of crucial spaces for them to engage — beyond political boundaries, class hierarchy and NGO compartments — for a new social order that recognises their status as full citizens with entitlement? Most important is how women will use the current transitional process to forge unity, synergy, and create the crucial linkages that will result in the necessary political currency for them to influence change. The unhealthy narrative in which women are viewed as weak, divided, and lacking direction and a collective agenda can and must be changed in order to influence the current male-dominant political discourse.

At this juncture, a critical analysis through the gender lense of the current transitional process, the structure of the GNU and the participation of women becomes crucial. However, the fact that key national processes such as constitutional reform are male-centred and that there was only one female negotiator, deputy Secretary General of the MDC-M, Priscilla Misihairabwi-Mushonga, should send warning bells that Zimbabwean women are yet to arrive.¹⁸

16 Kwinjeh, G. (2007) "Dismantling patriarchy in the MDC". *Pambazuka News*, 31 October 2007. [Online] Available at: <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/letters/44143> (accessed 25 September 2010).

17 "Women take campaign to cyberspace". *The Standard*, 13 February 2010.

18 Zimbabwe Election Support Network (2009) *Ballot update*. Issue No. 2/March 2009.

Representation of women in government

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network reports that ZANU-PF appointed only 13% women to minister posts and 5% to deputy minister posts. MDC-T appointed only 20% women to minister posts and 10% to deputy minister posts. The MDC appointed 33% to minister posts and none to deputy minister posts. The three political parties fall short of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender and Development Declaration, which stipulated that states had to ensure at least 30% women in political decision-making structures by 2005. It is clear that political rhetoric and commitments made in relation to women's political empowerment have not been matched with action.¹⁸

A gendered critique of the GNU has to start with its structure, which sadly mirrors the patriarchal nature of the political parties represented in it, in which decision-making remains a male prerogative. The few women who are in government are generally not representing women, but their own political parties.

Another issue of concern is that the donor community has not adopted a gendered strategy in the disbursement of funds, be it to individual political parties or to the GNU itself. This is tantamount to funding and sustaining the patriarchal status-quo. The past ten years (since the first elections with MDC in 2000) has seen a serious bonding between the patriarchal leadership and donors, to the point where women specific programmes for fundraising are often discussed with male leaders first before funding is approved. Hence, no critique of the weakened status of Zimbabwean women would be complete without an assessment of how the donor community is perpetuating inequality.

While the MDC-T and the MDC have based their political orientation on social democracy, a transformative ideology towards social justice and sustainable development of which gender equality is key, much more needs to be done before these policy principles are realised. A factor that has greatly undermined the participation of women in politics is resources; it is easier for men to access resources with which to campaign. Women, merely by being poorer than men, are marginalised from crucial political processes, losing out in the competition for political power.

Even more important in the present situation is the undermining of attempts to address issues of gender justice within the transitional justice process, which deals with past injustices and the remaining culture of impunity, as well as fostering a new culture of accountability.

A safe space for women

Given the serious obstacles listed above, the key question is where to place an understanding of the women's movement in Zimbabwe, and where to locate a safe space for women to organise for their cause collectively beyond social boundaries, be it class, ethnicity or race. Women's emancipation in society cannot happen in a vacuum. The ability of Zimbabwe's women's movement to mobilise for its collective cause is intricately linked to the environment in which it operates. Shrinking political space has led to the dissipation of collective energies as survival politics take centre stage, undermining solidarity around crucial issues related to women.

Two-stage struggle — History repeats itself

During Zimbabwe's liberation, women were sold the concept of the 'two-stage struggle': first, join the men in fighting the colonial regime to attain political power and, then, women's issues will be addressed. This is repeating itself in the current struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe.

The idea of the two-stage struggle repeating itself is further articulated by feminist Shereen Essof:

*The two tier struggle that we have experienced in national liberation struggles has really resulted in zero for women. So no matter what the outcome of this election, the struggle against structural oppression for women's human rights and for full citizenship as the position and condition of women's lives will not change overnight.*¹⁹

¹⁹ Essof, S. (2005) "She-murenga: Challenges, opportunities and setbacks of the women's movement in Zimbabwe." *Feminist Africa*, Issue 4.

The yearning for freedom by Zimbabwean women is, therefore, not a new phenomenon. They have historically understood their subjugation under patriarchy and organised against it. However, the question to ask with a view to bringing to the fore a fresh narrative that breaks from this cycle is why is history repeating itself?

Zimbabwe has travelled 30 years of a rocky road towards emancipation, but the issues in 2010 are the same as they were in 1980. Whatever the legislative or constitutional gains, the fact of the matter is that Zimbabwean women still face a huge battle to emancipate themselves. Those who have sought to drive the feminist agenda have largely been seen as obstacles in the bigger struggle as defined by men.

Conclusion — How can women be agents of real transformation?

Zimbabwe's economic and social collapse calls for a change in direction. Men and women of honour must stand up and be counted. No one person has a monopoly on shaping the future of the country — change should be informed by a collective agenda. Talk about democratic processes that are inclusive of women should not just be rhetoric: it is about shaping Zimbabwe's future for all Zimbabweans. Neither is it about the present generation, it is about posterity. What will future generations look back and say about their mothers and fathers?

Sadly, the onus is on women to rise up and unshackle themselves. Surely 30 years of independence should serve as a clarion call for Uhuru (independence) among women? Women need to take matters into their hands, as they have done historically, and set a fresh agenda for national politics.

Suggested steps include:

1. **Identify fresh platforms for discussion:** We need to go back to basics in terms of stocktaking — where are the women and what are their issues?
2. **Plan for various scenarios:** Women must be prepared so as not to be caught off-guard again in the events that are fast unfolding.
3. **Identify areas of influence:** Who are the strategically placed women and what can they do to influence change in their areas of operation (government, parliament, senate, NGOs, diaspora, and so forth)?
4. **Establish a uniting platform/convenor:** What are the potential uniting platforms? Who are the credible conveners?
5. **Establish regional/international linkages:** What are the best platforms to push the Zimbabwean women's agenda regionally and internationally?

ANNEX 1: Global Political Agreement (GAP) — Extract

Agreement between the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations, on resolving the challenges facing Zimbabwe

Preamble

We, the Parties to this Agreement;

CONCERNED about the recent challenges that we have faced as a country and the multiple threats to the well-being of our people and, therefore, determined to resolve these permanently.

CONSIDERING our shared determination to uphold, defend and sustain Zimbabwe's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity, as a respected member of the international community, a nation where all citizens respect and, therefore, enjoy equal protection of the law and have equal opportunity to compete and prosper in all spheres of life.

ACKNOWLEDGING the sacrifices made by thousands of Zimbabwe's gallant sons and daughters in the fight against colonialism and racial discrimination and determined to accept, cherish and recognise the significance of the Liberation Struggle as the foundation of our sovereign independence, freedoms and human rights.

DEDICATING ourselves to putting an end to the polarisation, divisions, conflict and intolerance that has characterised Zimbabwean politics and society in recent times.

COMMITTING ourselves to putting our people and our country first by arresting the fall in living standards and reversing the decline of our economy.

EMPHASISING our shared commitment to re-orient our attitudes towards respect for the Constitution and all national laws, the rule of law, observance of Zimbabwe's national institutions, symbols and national events.

RESPECTING the rights of all Zimbabweans regardless of political affiliation to benefit from and participate in all national programmes and events freely without let or hindrance.

RECOGNISING, accepting and acknowledging that the values of justice, fairness, openness, tolerance, equality, non-discrimination and respect of all persons without regard to race, class, gender, ethnicity, language, religion, political opinion, place of origin or birth are the bedrock of our democracy and good governance.

DETERMINED to build a society free of violence, fear, intimidation, hatred, patronage, corruption and founded on justice, fairness, openness, transparency, dignity and equality.

RECOGNISING and accepting that the Land Question has been at the core of the contestation in Zimbabwe and acknowledging the centrality of issues relating to the rule of law, respect for human rights, democracy and governance.

COMMITTED to act in a manner that demonstrates loyalty to Zimbabwe, patriotism and commitment to Zimbabwe's national purpose, core values, interests and aspirations.

DETERMINED to act in a manner that demonstrates respect for the democratic values of justice, fairness, openness, tolerance, equality, respect of all persons and human rights.

SUBMITTING ourselves to the mandate of the Extraordinary Summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) held in Dar-es-Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, on 29th March 2007 and endorsed in Lusaka on 12th April 2008 and in the AU Summit held in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt from 30th June to 1 July 2008.

RECOGNISING the centrality and importance of African institutions in dealing with African problems, we agreed to seek solutions to our differences, challenges and problems through dialogue.

ACKNOWLEDGING that pursuant to the Dar-es-Salaam SADC resolution, the Parties negotiated and agreed on a draft Constitution, initialed by the Parties on 30 September 2007, and further agreed and co-sponsored the

enactment of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Number 18 Act, amendments to the Electoral Act, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act, Public Order and Security Act, Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act and Broadcasting Services Act.

APPRECIATING the historical obligation and need to reach a solution that will allow us to put Zimbabwe first and give the people a genuine chance of rebuilding and reconstructing their livelihoods.

PURSUANT to the common desire of working together, the Parties agreed to and executed a Memorandum of Understanding on 21 July 2008, attached hereto as Annexure "A".

ARTICLE VII PROMOTION OF EQUALITY, NATIONAL HEALING, COHESION AND UNITY

7. Equality, National Healing, Cohesion and Unity

7.1 The Parties hereby agree that the new Government:

- a) will ensure equal treatment of all regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin and will work towards equal access to development for all;
- b) will ensure equal and fair development of all regions of the country and in particular to correct historical imbalances in the development of regions;
- c) shall give consideration to the setting up of a mechanism to properly advise on what measures might be necessary and practicable to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre and post independence political conflicts; and
- d) will strive to create an environment of tolerance and respect among Zimbabweans and that all citizens are treated with dignity and decency irrespective of age, gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin or political affiliation.
- e) will formulate policies and put measures in place to attract the return and repatriation of all Zimbabweans in the Diaspora and in particular will work towards the return of all skilled personnel.

ARTICLE VIII RESPECT FOR NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND EVENTS

8. Respect for National Institutions and Events

8.1 In the interests of forging a common vision for our country, the Parties hereby agree:-

- (a) on the necessity of all Zimbabweans regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation and religion to respect and observe Zimbabwe's national institutions, symbols, national programmes and events; and
- (b) that all Zimbabweans regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation and religion have the right to benefit from and participate in all national programmes and events without let or hindrance.

ARTICLE XXV COMMENCEMENT

25. Commencement This Agreement shall enter into force upon its signature by the Parties.

In WITNESS WHEREOF the Parties have signed this Agreement in the English language, in six identical copies, all texts being equally authentic:

Done at Harare on this 15 day of September, 2008

ROBERT G MUGABE PRESIDENT, ZANU-PF

MORGAN R TSVANGIRAI PRESIDENT, MDC

ARTHUR G O MUTAMBARA PRESIDENT, MDC

In WITNESS THEREOF the Facilitator: THABO MBEKI SADC FACILITATOR

ANNEX 2: UN Security Council Resolution 1325

United Nations

S/RES/1325 (2000)



Security Council

Distr.: General
31 October 2000

Resolution 1325 (2000)

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on
31 October 2000**

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to

submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

ANNEX 3: EU Guidelines on Violence against Women and Girls and Combating all Forms of Discrimination against them

1. Objective of the guidelines

The adoption of guidelines on violence against women and girls is a mark of the EU's clear political will to treat the subject of women's rights as a priority and to take long-term action in that field. In focusing on the issue of violence against women and girls, the EU will be taking effective action against one of the major human rights violations of today's world.

These guidelines are based on a solid multilateral *acquis*, the most recent milestones of which are the UN Secretary-General's in-depth study on all forms of violence against women (2006), the work on indicators on violence carried out by Ms Yakin Ertük, UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women (2008), UN resolution 61/143 on intensification of efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women (2006) and UN Security Council resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008) on women, peace and security, as well as resolution 2005/2215 of the European Parliament on the situation of women in armed conflicts and their role in the reconstruction and the democratic process in countries after a conflict, the relevant articles of the Conventions on human rights and international humanitarian law and the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court.

The guidelines are also intended to encourage the implementation of a greater number of specific projects aimed at women and girls, financed by, *inter alia*, the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights, but also by any other appropriate financial instrument of the EU and the Member States.

The adoption of these guidelines is a clear reaffirmation of the universality of human rights.

2. Definition

For the purposes of these guidelines, the definition of violence against women is based on the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women:

"the term 'violence against women' means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life".

3. Operational guidelines

The EU reiterates the three indissociable aims of combating violence against women: prevention of violence, protection of and support for victims and prosecution of the perpetrators of such violence.

3.1 Operational objectives:

3.1.1. Promote gender equality and combat discrimination against women

The EU will state that the obstacles to exercising their socio-economic and political rights increase women's exposure to violence. In that respect, and with the aim of preventing such violence, the strategies of the Member States and of the EU in its external action must in particular focus on legislation and public policies which discriminate against women and girls, and the lack of diligence in combating discrimination practised in the private sphere and gender-stereotyping.

3.1.2. Collection of data on violence against women and development of indicators

Despite the successes of recent years, accurate comparable quantitative and qualitative data are needed on all forms of violence against women and girls, as well as relevant indicators, so that States can frame their actions and strategies in full knowledge of the facts. There are still considerable disparities in the types of data collected, in terms of population groups studied and the type of violence measured. The EU will endeavour to identify institutional and other tools enabling data to be collected and to help boost national capacities to collect and disseminate reliable, accurate data.

3.1.3. Devising effective, coordinated strategies

The EU's action will focus on reminding States of their dual responsibility to prevent and respond to violence against women and girls. They have a duty to put in place prevention strategies and strategies for the protection and support of victims of violence, and to call for action at all levels (local, national, regional and international), and in all sectors of society, in particular by politicians, the public and private sectors, civil society and the media. Forceful institutional mechanisms at local, regional and national level must be set up in order to ensure the implementation, coordination and follow-up of these strategies.

3.1.4. Combating the impunity of perpetrators of violence against women and access to justice for victims

The EU will emphasise that it is essential for States to ensure that violence against women and girls is punished by the law and to see that perpetrators of violence against women and girls are held responsible for their actions before the courts. States must in particular investigate acts of violence against women and girls swiftly, thoroughly, impartially and seriously, and ensure that the criminal justice system, in particular the rules of procedure and evidence, works in a way that will encourage women to give evidence and guarantee their protection when prosecuting those who have perpetrated acts of violence against them, in particular by allowing victims and their representatives to bring civil actions. Combating impunity also involves positive measures such as the training of police and law enforcement officers, legal aid and proper protection of victims and witnesses and the creation of conditions where the victims are no longer economically dependent on the perpetrators of violence.

3.2. EU intervention tools:

Intervention tools must enable all EU players to become involved, starting with Member States' embassies, Commission delegations and the General Secretariat of the Council of the EU.

The EU will ensure that it gives appropriate consideration to the synergies between the implementation of these guidelines and other EU guidelines on human rights, in particular those relating to children's rights and human rights defenders.

In accordance with the EU's operational objectives in terms of combating violence against women, its main intervention tools will be as follows:

3.2.1. General approaches:

The EU will regularly raise the issue of combating violence against women and girls and the types of discrimination from which such violence originates in its relations with third countries and regional organisations. Such approaches will relate in particular to the degree to which the national legal framework complies with the international standards and commitments of the States in that area, and to the effective implementation of and follow-up to those commitments. The EU will also ensure that a reference to women's rights is included in all the mandates of the EU's special representatives and envoys.

Prior to all its approaches, the EU will:

- (a) identify forms of violence against women and girls and analyse the relevant data and indicators concerning them;
- (b) identify the existence of laws and practices which are explicitly and de facto discriminatory, and from which such violence originates;
- (c) identify the absence and/or shortcomings of public policies defined in response to violence against women;
- (d) identify the international and regional instruments for the protection of women's rights which have been ratified by the countries concerned, including the existence of reservations, and the incorporation of such instruments into national law;
- (e) identify the recommendations made to those countries by international and regional mechanisms as regards women's rights and violence against women.

In its approaches, the EU will adopt the following positions and initiatives in particular:

- (f) it will encourage ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and its Optional Protocol, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women;
- (g) it will encourage the withdrawal of the reservations which have been entered in respect of the Convention, and in particular those which contradict the Convention's aims and objectives, *inter alia* on the basis of the interpretation given to those reservations by the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW);
- (h) it will encourage, by means of technical support if necessary, submission of reports to the CEDAW Committee within the deadlines specified and the follow-up to the Committee's reports and recommendations;
- (i) it will maintain a dialogue and regular consultations with women's rights defenders and women's organisations;
- (j) it will encourage women's rights defenders and women's organisations to become involved in developing, implementing and evaluating public policies in this area;
- (k) it will encourage Member States to make specific commitments to combat violence and discrimination against women within the framework of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR);
- (l) it will encourage the development of appropriate, new regional and international instruments.

3.2.2. Specific additional measures to combat violence against women

Action to combat violence against women will be implemented by means of the following initiatives:

- (a) by encouraging the summoning of the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women in cases where such violence is very widespread and goes largely unpunished;
- (b) in cases where a visit has been carried out, by ensuring that the Rapporteur's recommendations, conclusions and observations are followed up;
- (c) by supporting measures to combat impunity with regard to violence against women and girls, in particular by monitoring all legal proceedings relating to cases of such violence;
- (d) by supporting women's rights defenders and female human rights defenders, in particular those who are threatened or who are the victims of specific and targeted repression or harassment;
- (e) by promoting and supporting policies and campaigns to raise awareness of gender equality and to combat violence against women, especially campaigns to raise awareness specifically targeting men and boys;
- (f) by promoting and supporting campaigns focusing on the systematic neglect of girls, in particular as regards official birth registration and schooling.

3.2.3. Individual cases

The EU will consider taking specific measures if it becomes aware of individual cases of exceptional gravity, in particular violence perpetrated or tolerated by the State contrary to international commitments and fundamental rights to physical integrity and non-discrimination, and in the absence *inter alia* of satisfactory action at national level.

This applies in particular to instances of the most blatant infringements which meet one or more of the following criteria:

- 3.2.3.1. instances of violence the perpetrators of which are unlikely to be held responsible for their actions by a criminal court, in proportion to the gravity of the crime committed;
- 3.2.3.2. instances of violence the victims of which will in all likelihood have no access to appropriate, non-discriminatory redress before the criminal and civil courts;
- 3.2.3.3. cases which reflect a recurrent, systematic or large-scale practice in respect of which laws and public policies are non-existent or inadequate, in particular the most serious cases, such as those involving murders and forced suicides perpetrated in the name of honour;
- 3.2.3.4. cases resulting from discriminatory laws and practices;
- 3.2.3.5. cases of violence, threats, harassment and repression of female human rights defenders.

3.2.4. Framework for EU dialogues:

The European Union will repeatedly raise the subject of violence against women and the discrimination from which such violence originates in its specific dialogues on human rights, and in other EU policy dialogues if necessary.

These topics could be placed on the agenda for such dialogues either in the form of a specific item or through incorporation in one or more gender-specific items.

In that connection, the EU will follow up on any recommendations and conclusions of international and regional mechanisms for the protection of women's rights and combating violence against women, in particular those formulated by the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, those relating to women within the framework of the EPU, the conclusions and recommendations of the CEDAW Committee and those put forward by the regional protection mechanisms.

3.2.5. Drafting of human rights reports

In their reports, the Heads of Mission must systematically include in their reports a section on compliance with human rights analysing respect for women's fundamental rights, with particular reference to their right to physical integrity and non-discrimination and compliance with the international commitments of States as regards violence against women.

The reports will refer to:

- institutional and other mechanisms responsible for collecting qualitative and quantitative data throughout the territory and in all types of environments (households, workplaces, educational establishments, places of detention and other public institutions, etc.);
- statistics, broken down by gender, age and other relevant factors as well as information on the dissemination of those statistics to the key players concerned and the general public;

- the legislative framework as identified in the preliminary approaches, and in particular the existence of discriminatory laws and practices.

The EU's special representatives and envoys must take account of women's rights and must include information on that subject in their reports.

3.2.6. Promotion of women's rights in international fora

The EU will continue its active role in promoting women's rights, and especially the prevention of violence against women, in international fora (in particular the United Nations). It will ensure smooth coordination with all UN women's rights bodies, continuously support their work and promulgate unified and coherent messages in such fora, thereby strengthening the role and impact of EU actions in that area.

3.2.7. Bilateral and multilateral cooperation:

Action to combat violence against women and girls will be accorded priority within the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in defending human rights, in collaboration with civil society, including in the legal and educational fields. Particular consideration will be given to such cooperation within the framework of the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights, but also via any other appropriate financial instrument of the EU and Member States.

Such cooperation will aim *inter alia* to support the programmes of civil society in particular, focusing on the following priority areas:

3.2.7.1.

Redress, rehabilitation and access to care

- (a) support for programmes promoting and ensuring access to justice for the victims of violence, including victims of violence appearing in court;
- (b) support for access to appropriate care services provided free of charge in the fields of psychological support, legal assistance, accommodation and the reintegration of victims of violence and their children, *inter alia* via public information campaigns for such services;
- (c) promoting women and girls' access and right to information and health services, in particular as regards sexual and reproductive health, *inter alia* in order to better protect them from HIV infection, affirming the EU's support for the full implementation of the Cairo Action Programme adopted at the International Conference of Population and Development (ICPD) in 1994 and the main measures for the continued application of the ICPD Action Programme agreed at the ICPD + 5 as well as for the Copenhagen Declaration and Action Programme, the Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals.
- (d) support for programmes promoting women freely exercising their right to take decisions on questions relating to their sexuality and without being subjected to coercion, discrimination or violence;
- (e) support for programmes targeted at categories of women who require particular attention due to an increased risk of being victims of violence.

3.2.7.2. Prevention of violence

- (a) promotion of and support for action to combat impunity with regard to violence against women and girls;
- (b) support for education in the fundamental rights and empowerment of women and girls;
- (c) support for campaigns, *inter alia* in the field of awareness-raising and communication, focusing on gender equality and measures to combat violence against women and girls through the elimination of the gender stereotyping which contributes to violence against women and girls;
- (d) support for programmes aimed at improving the economic independence of women;
- (e) support for the training of police officers and judicial staff in matters relating to violence against women and girls and the causes and consequences of such violence.

3.2.7.3. Strengthening capacities

- (a) the provision of assistance for national action plans implementing the CEDAW Committee's recommendations, including the internal dissemination thereof;
- (b) the provision of assistance for the introduction of effective coordinated mechanisms for collecting data on violence against women and girls;
- (c) support for women's organisations and female human rights defenders, and more generally for civil society organisations combating violence against women;

- (d) the provision of appropriate training to all professionals responsible for dealing with violence against women and the causes and consequences of such violence (police, judicial staff, healthcare and educational professionals, the media);
- (e) support for programmes to reinforce police powers to intervene in cases of violence, and in particular domestic violence, via the introduction of standardised intervention protocols, pursuant to the United Nations Resolution on crime prevention and criminal justice responses to violence against women;
- (f) support for the establishment of central and decentralised administration services to improve women's status;
- (g) the provision of assistance for national action plans implementing Security Council Resolution 1325.

3.3. Evaluation

The Council Working Party on Human Rights will regularly evaluate the implementation of these guidelines, *inter alia* on the basis of the reports submitted by the Heads of Mission and after informal consultation with civil society. The Working Party on Human Rights will keep the Council informed of the application of the guidelines and will propose to the Council any necessary improvements for applying the guidelines.

Introduction to the issue of violence against women, its forms, causes and consequences.

Violence against women and girls, in all its forms, is truly a scourge. Available data indicate that this is a worldwide, institutionalised phenomenon. The forms and manifestations of such violence are many, interrelated and different according to the social, economic, cultural and political context of a society.

Violence against women and girls includes, but is not restricted to, forms of physical, sexual and psychological violence (a) occurring within the family (including prenatal selection based on the sex of the foetus (except where medically necessary) and systematic neglect of infant girls; forced marriage; early marriage; violence perpetrated by partners and ex-spouses; acid attacks; dowry violence and "honour" killings, violence and forced suicides; battering; sexual abuse inflicted on female children in the home, including incest; rape by habitual or cohabiting partners; female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women; (b) occurring within the general community (including rape; sexual abuse; sexual harassment and all forms of gender-related harassment; intimidation at work, in educational institutes and elsewhere; trafficking in women and forced prostitution; modern forms of slavery; femicide; violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations; trafficking in women for the purposes of sexual exploitation and of all other forms of exploitation); (c) violence against women and girls covers all the acts listed above whether or not perpetrated or condoned by the State.

It should be pointed out here that, while, as the UN Secretary-General acknowledges in his in-depth study, much violence against women is committed by private actors and includes a broad range of individuals and entities, this factor in no way exonerates States from acting with due diligence, as set out in Recommendation No 19 of the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Certain factors render victims more vulnerable as a result of the multiple discrimination they endure, related both to their gender and the fact that they belong to distinct minority or ethnic groups, to their religion or language, their status of native women, migrant women, displaced or refugee women, women living in underdeveloped environments or in remote rural communities, institutionalised or incarcerated women, women with disabilities, HIV-positive women, lesbian, bisexual or transgender women, young girls, old or widowed women, and female victims of all other forms of discrimination. Lastly, in situations of crisis or armed conflict, the use of rape, slavery, sexual abuse and exploitation are the most systematic and widespread manifestations of violence against women.

Apart from the serious consequences for the physical health (particularly substantially increased risk of HIV infection) and mental health of victims, violence against women also has significant social consequences and major economic costs, to which should be added the cost of political and social instability resulting from the intergenerational transmission of violence. Violence against women thus contributes to their impoverishment and that of their families, communities, societies and countries. Violence against women is therefore an obstacle to development.

Violence against women and girls has certain structural causes, including the historically unequal balance of power between men and women as well as girls and boys, found in many societies. Furthermore, customs, traditions and religious values are used to justify violence against women. Economic inequalities suffered by women and their lack of independence are decisive factors for violence in that they reduce women's capacity to act and take decisions, and increase their vulnerability to violence.

Political instability and armed conflicts are additional sources of violence against women and girls. Even post conflict, the climate of violence persists for a long time and in many countries which have experienced armed conflict, the increased acceptance of violence and the massive proliferation of weapons leads to increased violence outside the conflict.

In order to combat this scourge effectively it is essential that all these aspects be taken into account.

International legal framework and obligations of States in combating violence against women

The international community is committed to protecting the rights and dignity of men and women via numerous treaties and political undertakings. 60 years have passed since the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which clearly asserts

that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as ... sex".

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which monitors implementation of the 1979 Convention, has defined violence against women as a form of discrimination within the meaning of the Convention and this has led to the issue featuring more prominently in the work programmes of human rights institutions and mechanisms.

The World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna in 1993, led to the appointment by the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1994 of a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, followed by the General Assembly's adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women in the same year. The World Conference reaffirmed the universality and indivisibility of human rights.

The Declaration sets out a series of measures that States must take to prevent and eliminate violence against women. *In particular, it requires States to condemn violence against women and not invoke custom, tradition or religion to avoid their obligations to eliminate such violence.*

The Beijing Platform, adopted in 1995, won the support of 189 countries during the historic UN conference on the situation of women worldwide. The Platform identifies twelve areas requiring improvement, including combating violence against women. These areas were examined at the conference organised in 2005 in New York, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Platform. The Union's support for the Beijing Platform for Action was expressed at the highest level by heads of government at the Madrid summit in December 1995.

Since 1999, the Council of the European Union adopts – every year – conclusions on indicators and reference criteria, thus ensuring annual follow-up that is more targeted and structured. *A series of quantitative and qualitative indicators were drawn up for violence against women in 2002.*

The 5-year review of the Beijing Platform for Action (Beijing + 5) called on governments to take appropriate measures to eliminate violence and discrimination against women committed by any person, organisation or enterprise *and to treat all forms of violence against women and girls as criminal offences.*

General Assembly resolution 61/143 (2006) on intensification of efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women, adopted by consensus, reaffirmed all the international commitments of States, including *the obligation to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms of women and girls and to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and punish the perpetrators of violence against women and girls and to provide protection to the victims, and that failure to do so violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.*

UN Security Council resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008) set out the international community's undertakings to combat violence against women in situations of armed conflict. Resolution 1820 affirms the link between the maintenance of international peace and security and combating sexual violence suffered by women in conflict situations. Resolution 1820 (2008), which incorporates *Article 7 of the ICC's Rome Statute*, reminds States that "*rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a warcrime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide, stresses the need for the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes [...]*".

Resolution 2005/2215 of the European Parliament on the situation of women in armed conflicts and their role in the reconstruction and the democratic process in countries after a conflict, offers a general framework for EU action in the field concerning women in armed conflicts, in particular violence perpetrated against them.

Numerous initiatives on violence against women have also been taken by the Council of Europe and the OSCE, organisations within which the EU plays an important part.

This European Parliament 2005 Resolution sets out the specific efforts, steps and measures that must be taken to combat this scourge effectively.

These guidelines incorporate those obligations into the EU framework. In so doing, they underpin European action to protect women's rights and promote gender equality in external relations, as defined in the Roadmap for Equality between Men and Women, the Commission's 2007 communication on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Cooperation, the Council conclusions on that communication, and other guidelines for human rights adopted under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

ANNEX 4: Outcome of the EU/NATO High-level Event on Women, Peace and Security

Women, peace and security

Empowering women in peace and conflict

Brussels, 27 January 2010

On 27 January 2010, European Commission VP Margot Wallström and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen hosted an event on women, peace and security with the participation of Spanish First Vice-President Maria Teresa Fernandez de la Vega and Former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The event, organised by the Security & Defence Agenda, held at the premises of the European Commission (Charlemagne building), saw the participation of more than 400 people, including witnesses, NGOs, high-ranking military officials and high-level policy-makers.

High Representative Ashton had been due to attend but was subsequently asked to participate in the London Yemen meeting on the same day. She sent the following message to the conference participants: "I welcome the enhanced cooperation with NATO in the field of women, peace and security, and the joint commitment to push for implementation of existing international legislation. Only if we work together internationally, regionally and with civil society – will we be able to combat the marginalisation of women that is a real threat to global security".

The participants signalled strong political support to implement UN Security Council resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions on women, peace and security, initiating this year's substantive work that will culminate in late 2010 in a UN-organised ministerial review conference on women, peace and security. The conference's participants also discussed proposals for further concrete action to protect women and children from violence and to include women at all levels of crisis management and in peacebuilding processes. More precisely, they concluded that all actors involved should:

- use the October 2010 ministerial conference to present a stocktaking of their achievements on women, peace and security and commit to further action in support of the United Nations' efforts;
- step up implementation among UN Member States of UNSCR 1325 (including by developing, implementing and improving National Action Plans and policies).
- improve women's representation in senior management posts in all sectors;
- pay more attention to women's needs in post-conflict reconstruction funding, acknowledge and take into account women and girl combatants in Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration processes and account for both men and women in Security Sector Reform processes;
- reinforce the implementation of a gender perspective in civilian and military crisis management activities, further contributing to the effectiveness of these, including through the appointment of specific personnel such as gender advisers;
- step up efforts with regard to gender training of staff at all levels, including the development of a standard training curriculum to increase efficiency and coherence;
- politically and financially support women's participation in peace negotiations;
- continue to engage with civil society, particularly local women's groups in countries affected by armed conflicts, and support its activities related to women's rights violations during and after armed conflict and to women's participation to conflict prevention, mediation and resolution.



Women, peace and security

Empowering women in peace and conflict

VP Wallström underlined the EU's commitments to:

- continue the execution of the 'EU Comprehensive Approach to the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820' and the corresponding ESDP commitments, and finalise by mid-2010 a 'Gender Action Plan on gender equality in EU development co-operation', providing operational guidance to EU development actors to do work on protection of women from violence and women's participation in peace-building;
- step up co-operation on women, peace and security with the African Union, including EU support to gender mainstreaming in the AU's peace and security architecture, exploring with the AU the use of the Africa Peace facility, as well as with other regional organisations;
- systematise training on human rights, and more specifically on gender equality and women, peace and security, targeting Heads and staff of EU Delegations and EU Special Representatives as well as for ESDP Heads of Missions and Commanders;
- intensify bilateral efforts towards governments and actors that bear responsibility for the most serious violations of women's rights;
- support capacity building of partner countries to implement resolution 1325 and support them in doing so, including the development and the implementation of National Action Plans or corresponding strategies;
- integrate recommendations on gender equality provided by EU Electoral Observation Missions deployed in conflict and post-conflict countries (e.g. Afghanistan) into the programming of EU external assistance;
- support women's participation to conflict mediation and resolution, through specific actions notably under the Instrument for Stability, the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights, and Investing in People.

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen stressed the need to:

- proactively work to mainstream gender issues in NATO's policies, programmes and operations and to improve the Alliance's capabilities, particularly in terms of female personnel and trained gender advisors;
- ensure that all NATO-led operations, in particular in Afghanistan and the Balkans, are compliant with resolution 1325 and related resolutions, and supported by education and training, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, in accordance with the agreed NATO Strategic Commanders' military directive;
- work with NATO's partners, including in defence reform and defence institution building, to promote practical implementation of resolution 1325 and the subsequent resolutions across the Euro-Atlantic area;
- as part of the Alliance's comprehensive approach, seek maximum cooperation with all involved international actors, particularly in the area of training, education and standards.



Women, peace and security

Empowering women in peace and conflict

María Teresa Fernández de la Vega, first Deputy Prime-Minister of Spain (which currently holds the EU Presidency), highlighted the following commitments to:

- promote and arrange, as holder of the rotating Presidency of the Council of the European Union, an exchange of experiences between the Member States that have drawn up national Action Plans to implement Resolution 1325, and to encourage both EU Member States and non-Member States – and in particular post-conflict countries – to draft new Action Plans.
- prepare for the 10th anniversary of Resolution 1325, in conjunction with the Member States – and working especially closely with Belgium, which will hold the rotating Presidency in October 2010 – with particular emphasis on assessing progress achieved in the implementation of the Resolution.
- promote the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and of the Spanish government's Action Plan, and of Resolution 1820 on sexual violence against women in conflict situations in the countries affected and especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- support actions aimed at preventing, demobilising and reintegrating child soldiers (both boys and girls), pursuant to EU guidelines on children in armed conflicts.
- support women's organisations in the affected areas, which have in general worked on improving social and political rights from a gender perspective, with a view to ensuring that women can play a full part in humanitarian action and peace-building.
- guarantee mechanisms for empowering women in the international missions and organisations that intervene in short-, medium- and long-term actions, whether in emergency situations, humanitarian action or peace building.
- reinforce awareness of women's organisations and increase their participation in decision-making in emergency situations, humanitarian action and peace building, in order to help establish social, health and economic networks, in accordance with the situation in each affected area.
- promote courses of action and data collection – with gender mainstreaming as a key criterion – with the aim of assessing the extent of the violence committed and that to which women, and, in a different way, men are subjected, as well as examining whether they can play a relevant role in peace building.

Participants urged the United Nations to:

- ensure that the establishment of the new UN gender entity leads to more effective implementation of UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security;
- advocate for the full implementation of resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889 in the work of the Security Council and of the Peace-Building Commission;
- make use of forthcoming UN conferences and international meetings (e.g. the LAC Summit, the Beijing process, activities of the Union of the Mediterranean), to promote implementation of 1325 including building consensus on the objectives of the 2010 review conference;



Women, peace and security

Empowering women in peace and conflict

- at the UN review conference, advance the implementation of resolution 1325 by focusing on strengthened accountability of UN Member States for the implementation of resolution 1325, in particular on women's participation, and on effective prosecution of perpetrators and access to justice for the victims of violence;
- invite other international and regional organisations as well as civil society to the UN 10th Anniversary event to signal that it is a real global issue of security.

Background

UN Security Council resolution 1325 (10 October 2000) was the first resolution ever passed by the Security Council that addresses in a comprehensive way the issue of women, peace and security, with reference in particular to two aspects: 1) the issues of prevention and protection of women and girls from violence and 2) women's contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace.

Resolution 1820, adopted in June 2008 at the initiative of the US, recognises sexual violence as a self-standing security issue, linked with reconciliation and durable peace. The resolution gives the power to the Security Council to adopt Chapter VII measures in relation to grave violations of women's rights in conflict situations.

As a follow-up to resolution 1820, the Security Council adopted on 30 September 2009 resolution 1888, which strengthens the UN's advocacy role on the specific issue of violence against women in conflict and post-conflict situations, through the establishment of an *ad hoc* Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General.

Furthermore, on 5 October 2009, the UN Security Council passed consensually resolution 1889, at the initiative of Vietnam, as a follow-up to resolution 1325. The resolution underlines the need by the UN and the international community to increase capacity building and technical assistance to promote women's rights in crisis situations, since the very early recovery phases.

*The views expressed in this document do not necessarily reflect those of all participants in the event.



ANNEX 5: Mary Robinson — The women of Zimbabwe making history

The women of Zimbabwe making history



Mary Robinson (the first woman President of Ireland (1990-1997) and former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (1997-2002))

www.theElders.org

17 May 2010

Mary Robinson recently made a 5 day visit to Zimbabwe with several eminent African women leaders. While there she witnessed an historic agreement by the women of all parties to work together.

It was a real pleasure to be back in Zimbabwe. I last visited in 1994 when I was President of Ireland and had the good fortune to tour this majestic country. A lot has changed since then. Sadly, much has not changed for the better. However, the international community would do well to recognise the efforts and progress being made by the women of Zimbabwe.

I was in Zimbabwe to attend a 'High Level Dialogue on Women's Empowerment in the Political and Economic Arena'. I was joined by several eminent African women leaders. The aim of our five day visit was to show solidarity with those working to achieve greater women's empowerment in Zimbabwe.

The meeting was co-hosted by women's groups from government and civil society, and it sought to establish a clear role for women in the implementation of the country's Global Political Agreement.

The Global Political Agreement (GPA) was signed on 11 September 2008. It is a power sharing agreement between the country's leading political parties (ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC-M) and forms the base on which Zimbabwe is ruled today. Importantly, the GPA contains a clear commitment to gender equality. It supports women's participation in all efforts to build a participatory democracy that ensures respect for the rule of law and protects the human rights of all citizens.

Sadly, the human rights of women in Zimbabwe are all too often violated. As I prepared for my visit, I learned that one in three has experienced physical violence, and 25 percent report experiencing sexual violence at some point in their lives. I was particularly shocked to learn that in 1990 the average life expectancy in Zimbabwe for men and women was 61; now a woman's average life expectancy is just 43. She can expect to live healthily for just 34 years.

There are, however, some signs of progress. Women's representation in parliament increased from just 10 percent in 2005 to 15 percent in 2008 – although this is still far short of the South African Development Community's goal of 50 percent women in political decision-making by 2015. Legislation such as the National Gender Policy Law, the Domestic Violence Act and the Sexual offences Act has also been adopted. Now, the challenge is to make sure that such progress is codified in Zimbabwe's constitution.

Zimbabweans are currently drafting a new constitution; it is seen as pivotal to the success of the GPA. Community outreach programmes are a key part of this process; Zimbabwean citizens must have a say in the development of their constitution. After all, this is to be a document that enshrines their rights as citizens and defines their vision for their homeland.

My African sisters and I wanted to highlight how important it is that women fully participate in this process. No constitution which has failed to fully ensure the perspectives and concerns of women can be seen as fully legitimate.

What struck me most during my visit was that the work that Zimbabwe's women are doing has truly re-energised the political landscape. Women from diverse backgrounds are providing a new impetus to civil society, political debate and the business culture. Women political leaders from all sides agreed that the nation should provide support urgently to survivors of violence, as well as define ways for justice and healing.

A meeting with representatives from each of the women's wings of the three political parties in the Inclusive Government, (ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC-M), would prove to be quite pivotal. As the discussion unfolded, I suddenly realized that these women very much welcomed the rare opportunity to dialogue together that our presence provided.

It turned out that the meeting had enabled a breakthrough to occur. In the supportive environment created, the Zimbabwean women admitted they would like to work together in some visible way. With strong encouragement from our delegation colleagues, they had agreed the language for a draft resolution, which was signed by the leaders of the women's wings of the three main political parties the next day. The resolution committed the women's wings of the political parties to work together to accelerate the implementation of the GPA and to build a common agenda for women's empowerment. I was witness to the signing of this historic declaration which was immediately endorsed by the Women's Parliamentary Caucus of Zimbabwe and welcomed by women's organisations across the country.

Olivia Muchena, Minister of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development (ZANU-PF) said the moment the agreement was reached was one of the happiest of her life. Minister of State Sekai Holland (MDC-M), one of three members of Zimbabwe's Organ on National Healing Reconciliation and Integration, welcomed it as the first step in genuine building of trust and reconciliation.

In separate meetings with the country's highest political leadership, I expressed to President Robert Mugabe and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai that I came to Zimbabwe as a friend and friends tell each other the truth, however painful. I shared my serious concern about ongoing reports of serious human rights violations, including torture, harassment and the persecution of human rights defenders in Zimbabwe. As individuals, mothers and community leaders, the rights of women and girls are doubly impacted by such violence.

I stressed that with the drafting of a new constitution, Zimbabwe faces an opportunity to reaffirm and give true meaning to what Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed more than 60 years ago: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. I also noted that women are finding the opportunity to link significantly and that they need the strong support of the Inclusive Government. Prime Minister Tsvangirai embraced this way forward and President Mugabe said that he is "Open, amenable and ready" to support women working together to build the nation.

With their recently declared commitment to cooperation and the equal rights of all citizens, Zimbabwe's women are providing their male counterparts with an example they would do well to follow.

ANNEX 6: Zimbabwe — Women MPs Call for Active Role in Drafting Constitution

THE HERALD

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Zimbabwe: Women MPs Call for Active Role in Drafting Constitution

22 October 2010

Harare — Female legislators in Zimbabwe have called for the establishment of a special women's committee for the drafting of the constitution and amendments to the electoral system.

The Women Parliamentarians Caucus met in Kariba at the weekend to map a way forward for full participation of women in the constitution-making process and future elections.

Minister of State in the Organ of National Healing, Integration and Reconciliation Sekai Holland said Copac had opened a window of opportunity for women to address gender imbalances.

"Our anticipation, which we have been working so hard to achieve, is that the new constitution will finally guarantee women the democratic electoral space they deserve.

"I would like to appeal to all women MPs, legal experts and civil society to continue monitoring the debates and drafting process that is about to come shortly," she said.

Minister Holland said the new constitution should guarantee gender equality in elections through a quota system explicitly entrenching an agreed minimum level of women participation.

Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development Minister Olivia Muchena said it is important for female MPs and ordinary women to be involved in thematic committees and drafting of the constitution.

"Drafters have more power than the people that have made the contributions.

"There should be room for the ordinary people who are not lawyers and they should be held accountable for our laws," she said.

Minister Muchena said women need a co-ordinator to work with the steering committee.

Copac co-chair Mr Douglas Mwonzora encouraged women to contribute to drafting of the constitution.

"I invite you here to lobby for the appointment of women as drafters and you need to lobby for progressive drafters.

"Women should begin mobilising for the second all-stakeholders conference and it is clear that the drafting committees are going to be influenced by political parties, therefore, it is important for you to lobby for gender sensitivity within your parties," he said.

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About Zimbabwe ...

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country located in the southern part of the continent of Africa. It is bordered by South Africa to the south, Botswana to the southwest, Zambia to the northwest and Mozambique to the east.

Zimbabwe began as a part of the British crown colony of Rhodesia. President Robert Mugabe is the head of State and Commander in Chief of the armed forces. Morgan Tsvangirai is the Prime Minister. Mugabe has been in power since the country's long war for independence. The collapse of the nation's economy and widespread poverty and unemployment has increased support for Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and his opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change, who in late 2008 agreed to share power with Mugabe.

In September 2008, the Global Political Agreement (GPA) was signed. It is a power sharing agreement between the country's leading political parties (ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC-M) and forms the base for the current Government of National Unity (GNU). The GPA contains a clear commitment to gender equality. It supports women's participation in all efforts to build a participatory democracy that ensures respect for the rule of law and protects the human rights of all citizens.

